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(Price ONE SHILLING.)

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TO THE

EARL of SHELBURNE.

LONDON:

Printed for J. DEBRETT, (Succeffor to Mr. Almon) opposite
BURLINGTON-HOUSE, PICCADILLY.
MDCCLXXXII.

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unted for J. DEBREAT, (Successor to Mr. Almon) appoints
BURLINGTON-HOUSE, PICCAULLY.
MUCCLERENT.

WORD, &c.

My LORD,

IN a late conversation which I had the honour to have with one of your Lordship's most intimate noble friends, I was not a little surprised to find, that the predilection of the Court, notwithstanding your Lordship's influence there, was still as strong for the prosecution of the American war, as ever it had been in the administration of LORD NORTH: and that your Lordship, upon discovering this "ruling passion" to be unconquerable,

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and the tenure of office to be dependent upon it, was disposed to adopt and gratify this darling passion. And, that your Lordship had, by way of vindicating and apologizing for fuch a palpable and flat contradiction of all your former speeches in Parliament, said, " that it was no more than the great Mr. Pitt had done, who, when out of office, had most vehemently condemned the German war, but finding, upon his coming into office afterwards, that it was the favourite war of the Court, he carried on that war with greater vigour, and at greater expence, than any other minister durst have thought of."

If this is to be your apology for deferting your friends, your principles, and your country, it is worth a little examination.

Your friends make the least part of the consideration, therefore I shall not say pen-

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fay much about them. And your late friends, or rather your late supporters as well as coadjutors, feem not to think it necessary to trouble the public with their fentiments; because their principles are univerfally known, and univerfally approved. Having acted up to their professions, they are contented with the public opinion. Being true Whigs, they fupported your Lordship whenever you acted upon their principles. But when your Lordship quitted those principles, and adopted others, better fuited to your views, they quitted that cabinet, in which they had given a feat to your Lordship, and retired with the consolation of having preserved their characters. The apostate shifts with every court-Having no principle of his breeze. own, he adopts that which supports him. Like the camelion, he takes his colour from the ground he stands upon.

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The number of your Lordship's friends, who, upon the ever-memorable motion of the 27th of February, 1782, which overturned the late Ministry, voted with the Whigs, did not exceed five or fix. The majority against the late Miniftry was nineteen. The fuccess of that day is therefore in no degree to be ascribed to your Lordship. Even Co-LONEL BARRE was filent. The fabric of corruption, which had been reared with fo much cost and care, was on that day destroyed: but your Lordship held neither the spade nor the mattock. You were content to reap the fruits of other men's labours: and, like your predecessor, the DUKE of GRAF-TON, you abandoned your creator, when he was confined to a fick bed. It was the apology of Mr. BRADSHAW, that Lord CHATHAM was infane. It was the fpeech of your Lordship, that Lord RockRock Sylla his lift again into these thor

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ROCKINGHAM could not recover. When Sylla revolted from Marius, who spared his life because he had taken resuge in his house; and when Cæsar declared against Antony, who had been duped into a support of his measures; both these Romans acted openly. It was reserved for modern apostacy, to plant thorns in the hours of seeming friendship under a sick man's pillow. Causa latet, res est notissima.

Your Lordship's principles are of the same magnitude with your sollowers. The former are not less pliable, than the latter are courteous. I have known your Lordship several years, and can truly affirm, that from the time of your connection with Mr. Calcraft, (for Lord Holland was afraid of you, and used to say, "that for so young a man, he never knew so complete a Jesuit") to the present hour, your abilities

as a politician never foared above the minutiæ of a state paper, consisting of days and dates. This precision in periods has been miftaken for found knowledge. It is not difficult to draw inferences from dates, which may confound and furprise the ignorant and indolent: but it is not a species of eloquence brought from the Chatham school, in which your Lordship pretends to have been a pupil. Before that school was opened, your Lordship was the disciple of LORD BUTE; and if it can be faid, that your Lordship is fixed in any thing, it is in a ftrict adherence to the principles of his Lordship's seminary.

When the late Sir GILBERT ELIOT appeared at LORD ROCKINGHAM'S levee in 1776, COLONEL ONSLOW faid to him, "You are come to support us."
"No!" faid Sir Gilbert, "you are come

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LORD ROCKINGHAM lost his place, but preserved his independence. The comment is obvious. Your Lordship does not intend to make the same sacrifice to the same principle.

Your Lordship during the summer courted, and you are ftill paying court, to the Scotch and the Bedfords; the two parties who were the most violent advocates and supporters of all the late ruinous measures: and to complete the heterodox, you still call yourself the disciple of LORD CHATHAM. These gentlemen will not change their principles; they will not contradict themselves. Your Lordship must therefore go to them, or they will not support you. What analogy is there to this in LORD CHATHAM's character? When Count Daun took Fabius for his model, he adopted the principles, as well as imi-

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tated the conduct of that celebrated Roman. But when your Lordship told the world, that you had taken LORD CHATHAM for your model, you neither adopted his principles, nor have imitated his conduct. His Lordship would not have supplicated affistance from the fanguinary promoters of the American war. To what part of LORD CHATHAM's conduct are we to look for your Lordship's imitation of it? I know of no fimilarity. To me the pretence appears to be all affectation and deception --- an artful lure held out to amuse the nation; a fort of felonious attempt to obtain the confidence of the public.

Let us now view the apology in another light, viz. your country. If I understand the design of it, and it is too obvious to be mistaken, the fact of Mr. Pitt's pursuing the German war, after he had reprobated it in the strongest terms,

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terms, is offered upon the prefumption, that it is a good precedent for your Lordship, in a case which you wish us to believe is perfectly analogous. If the last position, that is the analogy, were true, the supposed case might bear an argument. But it unfortunately happens for your Lordship, that no analogy can be established between the German war and the American war. We had in Mr. PITT's time a brave and active ally, whose co-operation contributed to our fuccesses. It was the battle of Rosbach which re-kindled the war in Lower Germany, after it had been extinguished in that quarter by the battle of Hastenbeck. Can your Lordship seriously think that the relief of Gibraltar makes an adequate parallel of circumstances, or that the bravery and skill of LORD Howe; shewn upon that occa-C fion,

fion,* can, by any interpretation or deduction, furnish any reason, argument, or apology, for continuing the American war, after the House of Commons have declared, by a folemn refolution, followed up by an address to the King, "That the farther profecution of offen-" five war on the continent of North " America, for the purpose of reducing " the revolted Colonies to obedience by " force, will be the means of weakening " the efforts of this country against her " European enemies, tends under the " present circumstances dangerously to " encrease the mutual enmity, so fatal " to the interests of both Great-Britain " and America, and by preventing an " happy reconciliation with that coun-

^{* &}quot;Be thou as chaste as ice, as pure as snow, "thou shalt not escape calumny," said Commissioner Johnstone in one of his speeches in the House of Commons; and Nauticus Johnstone, in his own style, has confirmed it.

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" try, to frustrate the earnest desire gra-" ciously expressed by his Majesty to re-" flore the bleffings of public tranquil-" lity?" (See Parliamen. Register, 1782, p. 317.) And a few days afterwards, by another resolution, still stronger, they faid, "This House will consider as ene-" mies to his Majesty, and this coun-" try, all those who shall endeavour to " frustrate his Majesty's paternal care " for the ease and happiness of his peo-" ple, by advising, or by any means at-" tempting, the farther profecution of " offensive war on the continent of " North America, for the purpose of " reducing the revolted colonies to obe-" dience by force." Idem, page 347. Even LORD NORTH, when speaking of this resolution a few days after it had passed, said, "That he held it to be " his indispensable duty to obey it, and " never once to lose fight of it. It was C 2 the

"the right of that House to command, it was the duty of a Minister to obey its resolutions. Parliament had already expressed its orders, and it was scarce possible that a Minister should be found hardy, daring, infamous enough to adwise his Sovereign to differ in opinion from his Parliament." (Idem, p. 348.)

The House of Commons is too strongly pledged to break its own resolution,
so lately made, without fixing such a
stigma upon its versatility, as must for
ever render it despicable in the judgment
of the whole world. The minister,
who, by his influence, hopes to gain
such a victory over Parliament, has no
good design upon Parliament. If a minister, having such a design, was not
abandoned to decency, as well as principle, he would dissolve Parliament; and
commence his new measures with a new
Parliament, which, not being bound by

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any former resolutions, and being chosen, to a certain extent, under his auspices, might put on his livery without incurring the charge of inconsistency.

To these general testimonies against the American war, I will add the partilar one of the young Duke of Rur-LAND, given on the 5th of April, 1775. I am not forry a debate has taken place, because I was rather defirous of making a kind of political creed, fome professions of my fentiments upon this very important, this very ferious, national question. . . . I difavow the whole fystem. It is commenced in iniquity; it is purfued with refentment. Under whatever Thape in futurity it may be revived, by whom foever produced and fupported, it shall, from me, meet the most constant, determined, and invariable opposition." Id. vol. i. p. 418. Lord

Lord John Cavendish and Mr. For fruggle are now in a private station. You have negotia almost exclusively the smiles of your So-persuad vereign; they only the empty applause of tries. their country. This too they share with a minis others, particularly those two spirited and not ver amiable young Nobles, who ftand fo high means in fame and virtue, whom England glories predile that she can call her own, the VISCOUNTS favour ALTHORPE and DUNCANNON! confcio

That the Court should wish to per- should fevere in the profecution of the A- a case merican war, is not improbable. - fimilar Kings never furrender dominion but specio with great reluctance. Even private helter gentlemen feldom part with their ef-great tates, however convenient, until com- plete pelled by necessity. But a diminution House of power is more grievous to a prince, upon, than a diminution of property to a fub-out a ject. It was not until near the end stance of a long reign, spent in a continual tinuin biol

ftruggle

. For fruggle by war, cruelty, cunning and have negotiation, that Philip II. could be ur So. persuaded he had lost the Low Countuse of tries. Neither is it improbable, that e with a minister, anxious of royal favour, and ed and not very scrupulous, nor delicate in the o high means of obtaining it, should adopt this glories predilection, and attempt to gratify this UNTS favourite wish of the Court; and that conscious of his own tergiversation, he per- should ransack history and memory for e A- a case which he might pretend was e. - fimilar, in order to draw from it some but specious analogy, hoping thereby to rivate thelter himself under the credit of a r ef- great name, and to offer it as a comcom- plete vindication. But, that a British ution House of Commons should be prevailed ince, upon, within the same year, and withfub- out any material alteration in circumend stances, to approve of reviving or connual tinuing a felf-destroying war, thereby giving

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giving the lie to their own most folem resolutions, would be such a scandalou proftitution of the honour and dignit of Parliament, that I cannot, for a mo ment, entertain a thought of it. Or that the people at large, who have f woefully experienced in the accumula tion of taxes, loss of trade, and de crease in the value of all kinds of pro perty, the impolicy, delufion and fui cide of the American war, should sup port a minister in any farther prosecu tion of that war, is, I think, utter impossible. The impositions of the American refugees, who daily fill ou public prints with abusive paragraph upon our officers, with tales of division in the American counsels, and other matters equally and notoriously falle have now loft their effect. They at known and despised. All description of men are convinced, that they have

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been fatally misled by these artful and wicked people.

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Perhaps your Lordship will contrive fome middle-expedient. It was the expedient of Philip, when he could carry on the war in the Low Countries no longer, to offer them in dower with his daughter Isabella. Wiquefort tells you how the offer was received. Lordship's passion for precedents, may (for the paroxyfm is not too great) induce you to offer the American States in dower with the Princess Royal, and, to complete the analogy, marry her Royal Highness to some Calvinist Prince, and fend them to New York to make peace. The cases will be perfectly similar to the end.

Your Lordship is fond of middle expedients; or, how shall we account for that most extraordinary of all expedients, which not only exceeds every thing

thing in our times, but also in the arbitrary reigns of the Stuarts---Your Lordship's answer to the brewer's petition on the dearness of malt; wherein the future proceedings are bargained for, (the minister will support Messrs. Whitbread's indemnification, and Messrs. Whitbread will support the minister's measures) and, I may fay, fold to individuals, like post chits at Skinner's or Christie's auction rooms. Parliament must either do a harsh thing against individuals, that is, let the law take its course, or, by acquiescing in the minister's promise, admit the precedent (your Lordship is fond of precedents) of its wisdom and justice being literally fold for fo many bonds; which, upon the principles of expediency and humanity, Parliament must The upright intentions of the individuals who gave the bonds, is here out of the question; nobody doubts their

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their own interest being blended with the public good. But the fame pretence may be fet up, with the connivance of the minister, in favour of any other breach of the laws. The precedent being once admitted, it is the will of the minister, and not the law, This power, in the which governs. hands of a minister, is capable of giving him a greater influence over Parliament, than he could have obtained by contracts. But if we must have a dispenfing and fuspending power, which, in the judgment of your coadjutor, " is " only forty days tyranny at the out-" fide," in God's name let the minister come forward, and affume it boldly and manfully, in the face of the nation; not fneak into the mean and pitiful fubterfuge of begging individuals to give bond, until Parliament passes an act that shall release them from the penalties of their obligations.

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By fome half, or middle measure, that is neither peace nor war, independency nor fupremacy, the minister is to keep his place; the American war is to go on; that is, peace is not to be made; though a British minister is kept residing publicly at Paris, thereby announcing to the whole world, that the Court of Great Britain are continually fueing for peace at the foot of the throne of the House of Bourbon. But nothing decifive is held out, and confequently nothing decifive can be obtained, except the difgrace of our incessant supplication. The fupplies for another year's war are therefore to be provided; another loan is in prospect; and more taxes are to be levied; all which are to be ascribed to the equivocal and unceasing versatility in the mind of the minister; which is fixed to no principle, and determined to no point, beyond the pedantry and ununder-

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There is another noble Lord to whom your Lordship carries a much nearer refemblance than to the late Earl of Chatham; I do not mean in features, because, in some eyes, his Lordships are the more favourable of the two; but, in the language of modern biography, in life, character and behaviour, and last fpeeches in the last sessions. Your Lordship cannot be offended at the parallel, because the hint is palpably borrowed from your own affected imitation of Lord Chatham. Such imitation has all the awkward appearance of gross art; but the parallel, your Lordship knows, is pure nature.

His Lordship was bred to the army.

He quarrelled with Prince Ferdinand. He left the army.

He kept a good understanding at Carleton House, by means of Mr. J.

He fought a duel with a Scotchman (Governor Johnstone).

He differed with the Junto (who made him Secretary of State) upon the offer of peace with America.

He said, in his last speech in the House of C—, that whenever independence was granted to America, this country was undone.

He was turned out in an underhand manner.

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Your Lordship was designed for the army.

You quarrelled with Lord Bute.

Your Lordship did the same.

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Your Lordship did the same, by means of Lady C-F-.

Your Lordship did the same with another Scot (Commis Fullarton).

Your Lordship differed with Lord Rockingham (who made you Secretary of State) upon the question of peace with America.

Your Lordship said, at the same time in the House of L—, that whenever America became independent, the sun of Great Britain was set.

Your Lordship was taken in, in an underhand manner.

The public opinion of the minister has not contradicted the private one held by those who are perfonally known to your Lordship. While your Lordship was joined with the MARQUIS of ROCK-INGHAM in office, the universal good opinion of the Marquis gave fuch fatisfaction to the nation, as left no fufpicions refpecting his colleagues. The public reposed such a thorough confidence in the Marquis, that they entertained no apprehensions of any deceptions or fubterfuges being in agitation, because they were certain that he was a gentleman of too nice honour to be concerned in any. But when your Lordship stepped into the Treasury, without the participation, confent, or even knowledge of your coadjutors; by whose labours, perseverance and abilities, the late ministers were defeated, and by whom your Lordship was made Secretary

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cretary of State; the recollection of your Lordship's former mutabilities and duplicities, rushed upon every man's mind, and possessed it so entirely, that in the fullness of his sorrow, not of his astonishment, he could only say, "What "else could be expected from the am"bition and versatility of the EARL of "SHELBURNE!"

Mr. WILKES has, in the course of his political career, contributed not a little to give the public tolerable information of your Lordship's general character. Other pens, from the hired ones in the service of the court, to the volunteers in the service of the public, have, at different periods, shewn the track of your Lordship's pursuits, and the zig-zag lines of your Lordship's politics. These are not forgotten. They have left an impression upon the public mind.

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It has often been observed, that the flocks are the barometer of the flate, that according to their advance or declenfion, the public judgment rifes or falls, in confidence, or in doubt, of the wildom which frames and directs the national measures. Let us try your Lordship by this barometer. You will not dispute the veracity of it, because you have, more than once, used it in argument against the late ministry. I will appeal to the most exact broker, whether the 3 per cent. confol. (which is the principal flock of business) had, in permanent price, advanced a fraction, from the time of your Lordship's stepping into the Treasury to the relief of Gibraltar? It certainly had not: which gives my polition. After the relief of Gibraltar all the flocks advanced fomething. It was the fuccess of that meafure, and not the credit of your Lordship,

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thip, which created that advantage to the public. The fame of your Lordship's wisdom had had its full operation upon the funds, before the relief of Gibraltar was accomplished. His majesty's minister at the court of Brusfels, had been publicly fent by your Lordship to Paris, to negotiate peace; a circumftance, which, under any other minister less distinguished for instability, would have affected the funds very confiderably. But the world feems to have no faith in your Lordship: foreigners as well as natives, are equally Sceptics. Until Gibraltar was relieved, the funds shewed no alteration in the public judgment. The spirit and succels of that measure gave them a favourable turn. Your Lordship, I prefume, does not claim any merit from that measure; or at most, it can only be a negative merit; that of not preventing E 2

venting its execution. Your Lordship might, by your influence in the cabinet, considering who at this time compose the cabinet, have stopped the failing of Lord Howe; but such a command would have been too bold and hazardous at the opening of your political mission. I will therefore give to your Lordship all the praise you can desire; that is, your Lordship neither prevented, nor accelerated, the relief of Gibraltar. It was a business peculiar to the Admiralty. Your Lordship had no concern in it, and consequently can derive no reputation from it.

With LORD ROCKINGHAM the confidence of the monied interest died. That interest never placed any great reliance upon your Lordship; and after the very extraordinary, but not very surprising, desertion of your colleagues; a desertion, which, in other men, though

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not in fimilar circumstances, yet if upon fimilar principles, would be fligmatifed with the epithets treacherous and ungrateful; the monied men were not thereby induced to put any fresh hope, or confidence, in the affurances which your Lordship's friends gave them of peace; or, in the removal of Mr. Fitzherbert from Bruffels to Paris. Mr. Grenville, a young man of family and fashion, declining the negotiation when it came under your Lordship's direction, was an unfavourable omen. It was faid, and credited abroad, that he was too explicit in his language, too honest in his nature, and inherited too strongly the manly firmness of an Englishman, to trifle or be trifled with, to condescend to finesse, or to become a difciple in the school of Alberoni. He quitted a fituation, which, after the alteration in the British cabinet, could yield HOY

yield him no honour; and for which others, not perhaps feeling the same nearness of relation to the national character, may be better fuited to your Lordship's views.

After the treatment which your Lordship had so recently shewn to your political friends, the business of negotiation became difregarded by the public. The appearance of it was indeed held up, but it was confidered as no other than a convenient thing, to be used when wanted, to be called real or imaginary, a fort of hocus-pocus, or political legerdemain, to be produced or extinguished, for the occasional support of a fystem, which, being founded in artifice, must be maintained by deception. Not having therefore the confidence of the people, it was confiftent with your Lordship's genius, to supply the chasm by expedients. Nobody will arraign Victe

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your Lordship's skill in these little refources. An expedient, in a minister, is often the refuge of loft veracity. The JUNIOR PITT was to supply it. But it was not civil to the youth to place him fo high at first; because he cannot go down without betraying fome fymptoms of awkwardness. The office of Chancellor of the Exchequer was not proper for him: it is an office for experience, not for eloquence; for plodding industry, not juvenile spirit; for arithmetical calculation and commercial knowledge, not for rhetorical excellence and college learning. However, the appointment was an expedient, and it will answer for the day; though at his expence for ever.

The rife of the stocks is not therefore to be ascribed to the credit of your Lord-ship's name. The real stockholders have gained no advantage from your Lordship's

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Lordship's character. Some gamblers have indeed gained, and fome of course must have lost; for no fooner was your Lordship's advancement to the Treasury made known, than the old play in the Alley began. One would imagine the Bulls and Bears knew your Lordship by inflinct. The traffic of temporary buying and felling, which had ceafed fince 1776, was revived with uncommon ardour upon your Lordship's promotion to the Treasury. Something must have given rife to this fudden rage for gambling. When the great traits of a Minister's character are marked and known, when the foundness of his judgment and the wisdom of his opinions are conspicuous in every part of his conduct, his complexion and reputation are permanent; there are no chances in his character; there can be no odds laid upon his opinions. It is the fickle, unftable minister, a grants

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who furnishes room for gambling: the bets are upon the changeableness of his nature; his opinions are unfettled, wavering upon the most trisling occurrences. His character is wholly doubtful; and every gambler wagers not upon the Minister, for he thinks him not certain or fixed enough, to buy or fell upon for any length of time; but he wagers upon his own opinion of the Minister, for a week, or longer, as he thinks he can trust him. Whoever remembers the transactions of the Alley during LORD BUTE's adminiftration, when he was supported by your Lordship and COLONEL BARRE, against MR. PITT and the Whigs, must recollect the same passion for buying and selling as at prefent. The Bulls and Bears had a good guess; for though his Lordship was a great favourite with the King, and had, a few months before he went from the office of Secretary of State to that of F

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who

of the Treasury, been decorated with a blue ribband: yet they had no opinion of his stability. The event shewed their fagacity; for he was only eleven months at the Treasury. He saw the indignation of the people rifing against him, principally for the treacherous and difhonourable means he used in acquiring that station; by driving from the cabinet the favourite minister of the people. And to this hour, this transaction furnishes the heaviest charge against LORD BUTE: for from that moment he loft all public confidence, and incurred the public hatred. Had MR. PITT remained in the cabinet, nobody would have enquired after LORD BUTE; the praise or blame of measures would have been folely directed to Mr. PITT: but the vanity and infolence of LORD BUTE ruined his character, tarnished the lustre of the Crown, and facrificed the interests of the nation.

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With all his pride, he was unequal to war; and with all his cunning, he was too weak for negociation.---What then could he do?---Just what he did. He begged a peace, and bought approbation of it.

The Whigs are naturally the enemies of the House of Bourbon. The Tories are almost as naturally her friends. There is fomething congenial in the paffions, and habits of thinking, between a Tory and an Absolute-monarchy-man, that draws them together. Your Lordthip supported the Tory administration of LORD BUTE, and your friend COLONEL BARRE at the fame time, most ruffianlike, abused the Whig politics of MR. PITT. What does your Lordship intend to be now --- a Whig or a Tory --- or a fomething between both ---- a Prince Volfius, hip hop, hip hop, one boot on, the other boot off?

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These manœuvres, my Lord, will not procure you the confidence of DR. FRANKLIN. Nothing alarms an American fo much as duplicity; he is more jealous of a fecret Tory than fearful of an open one. Peace with America is farther off in your Lordship's adminiftration than it was in LORD NORTH'S. There was a time when his Lordship was no enemy to the measure of American independence; this was, when the acting cabinet, of his day, refolved upon the removal of LORD SACKVILLE; and at that time the offer would have fucceeded. Circumstances were not very materially changed when Mr. Fox proposed it, and when your Lordship prevented it. From that moment the Americans faw all was not found in the British cabinet. There was duplicity in it. The American ministers, as was very natural, immediately guarded against

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against it. Their alliances since that time have been made stronger; and their demands, in consequence, are raised. These disadvantages are the first precious fruits of your Lordship's politics. I will draw no parallel between your Lordship's present situation and that of Lord Bute, previous to the peace of Paris. Hitherto the Gemini are co-equal --- time must give the remainder.

In Lord North's time, the propofition respecting American independence was delayed by the opposition it
met with from Lord Sackville. But
so sincerely did the Cabinet adopt the
measure, that they resolved to remove
Lord Sackville, because he was the
only visible impediment to it. What
encouraged that noble Lord in his opposition to the measure? Was it not a
secret and considential knowledge of
the

the opinion and resolution of another.

Sometimes it is better to explain by analogy; or sit may be called more decent, than to affert in direct terms. When the late Duke of Bedford infifted upon the removal of MR. STUART MACKENZIE, his Grace was never afterwards re-admitted in the closet, and the Ministers were changed. When LORD SACKVILLE was attacked upon his removal to the House of Lords, the Duke of Richmond took notice that his brother-ministers did not defend The propriety of his Lordship's creation was left to fland fingly upon the right of the Crown; and the Ministers were changed. The subject is tender, though interesting; the description is delicate, though a little obscure. When Mr. Fox made his proposition, your Lordship knew the ground upon or t which which fame this greated the which LORD SACKVILLE had made the fame opposition before. It was from this ground that your Lordship ascended the Treasury. Farewel!

THE END.

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